But the Local Self-Government Scheme is not working satisfactorily in most places. Very often, the non-official Vice-Presidents are in the hands of the Amildar-Presidents. I would therefore suggest Deputy Commissioners being made Presidents of Local Boards where competent non-official Presidents are not available.

Dewan.—Noted.

SUBJECT No. 91.

Levy of municipal taxes on vacant sites.

Mr. B. Kesaviah, Chikmagalur Taluk.

Summary of Representation.—In the absence of other means for the recovery of municipal taxes due on vacant sites, Municipalities may be authorised to recover the dues by proceeding against the sites on which the taxes are due.

Note.—Discussed with Subject No. 42.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MUZRAI.

(No. 92.)

SUBJECT No. 92.

Increase of *Padithara* and *Deepáráadhane* allowances to Muzrai institutions.

Messrs. D. Srikanta Rao, and D. S Hanumantha Rao, Devanhalli Taluk.

Messrs D. S. Hanumantha Rao and D. Srikanta Rao.—In all Muzrai institutions, only a sum of annas 8 or 10 is being given every month for the purpose of *Padithara*, *Deeparadhane*, etc., and this amount does not at all suffice for the purpose intended. The devotees have contributed half the amount required for the repairs of the temples, etc., and this is supplemented by the other half given by Government. The *Tasdik* of these temples may therefore be raised, at least, to Rs. 4 or 5 a month for the due performance of the same.

Mr. V. Shama Iyengar.—Sir, at the time of the revision of the scale of expenditure in the case of several temples, very low remuneration has been fixed for temple servants, while decent sums of money have been shown as savings. At least, these latter sums may be made use of for increasing the emoluments of the temple servants.

Second Member of Council.—If proposals are sent up to the Muzrai Department about the particular institutions that the members have in view, they will be considered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

(Nos. 93 to 98.)

SUBJECT No. 93.

The Miller Committee Report and Government Orders thereon.

Messrs. S. R. Balakrishna Rao, Shimoga Taluk; A. Narasimha Iyengar, Sagar Taluk; H. Shama Rao, Honnali Municipality, and Venkappaiya, Shimoga District Board; S. Seetharamaiya and A. Ananthaiya, Shimoga Taluk; C. Subba Rao, Shimoga District Board and A. Shamanna

At 3-30 P.M. on 15th October 1921, Mr. K. T. Seshaiya and a few other members desired that the Subject of the Miller Committee Report and the Orders of Government thereon be discussed. *Messrs. Krishna Sastry and M. Venkatakrishnaiya* were of opinion, however, that there was not enough time for the subject being discussed sufficiently and that it might therefore, be discussed later on, lest the discussion should be superficial.

Shimoga Municipality; Karnick Krishnamurthi Rao and Subbiah Magadi Taluk; R. Gopalaswamy, Iyer, Bangalore City Municipality; N. Surappa, Bangalore Taluk; T. Ramachendra Rao, Bangalore District Board; B. Srinivasa Iyengar and R. Subba Rao, Anekal Taluk; C. Naraharaiya and D. S. Krishna Rao, Nelamangala Taluk; D. S. Hanumantha Rao, Devanhalli Taluk; Belur Srinivasa Iyengar, Law Association, Bangalore; K. Ramakrishna Iyer, Kolar Taluk; T. Srinivasachar, Kolar Town Municipality and H. Krishnamurtiachar, Mulbagal Municipality; H. Krishna Sastry, Krishnarajapete Taluk; C. Narasimhaiya, Heggaddevankote Taluk; N. Rajagopal Iyengar, Bar Association, Mysore, and S. Krishnaswami Rao, Mysore Taluk; K. Venkatasamaiya, Mysore District Board; K. V. Narayan Rao, Nanjangud Municipality; E. Krishnappa and Bandaiya, Nanjangud Taluk; Hosakoppa Krishna Rao, Koppa Taluk, and C. Srinivasa Rao, Kadur District Board. B. Suryanarayana Rao and A. Naraniengar, Hassan Taluk; H. Thimmappaiya, Manjarabad Taluk; N. Nagappaiya, Hole-Narsipur Taluk; K. T. Seshaiya, and H. Nagappachar, Belur Taluk; Herur Gundappa, Kunigal Taluk; G. B. Madhavachar, Koratagere Sub-Taluk; Suryanarayana Rao and Ramanna, Tumkur Taluk and Thimmannaiya, Tumkur District Board.

Messrs. M. Subbaiya, Abbas Khan, G. Paramasiva Iya and others opined that the subject might be discussed at once. Their Brahmin friends had desired a discussion that afternoon and it was not right that they should now pray for a postponement, especially when the matter had been once considered and a ruling had been given by the chair.

Mr. R. Gopalaswami Iyer suggested that, with a view to minimise discussion in the house, the Assembly might meet in committee on the 16th (being a Sunday) for preliminary discussion among themselves and come to some mutual understanding which might be taken up on the 17th before the House formally. He requested also that the opinions which the Heads of Departments had given on the Committee's Report confidentially, might be made available for the members or that some officer of Government might be asked to be present at the meeting and give them information on points which they might want to be elucidated.

The Dewan-President replied that this was not possible and that as decided earlier in the day, discussion be resumed immediately. He observed also that discussion would have to close the same evening and that therefore it would be well if members decided beforehand as to who should speak and how long each should speak. He advised also that members—Brahmin and Non-Brahmin—should be moderate in tone and that neither party should give any sort of offence to the other.

In opening the discussion, *Mr. K. T. Seshaiya* said:—Sir, we wish only to respectfully submit our representation. We do not ask that our opinion should, of necessity, be given effect to. Brahmins do not want to non-co operate if their proposals are not accepted and would never think of doing so. In the June Session also, though we remained silent, it was not with an idea of non-co-operating and our action was misinterpreted as non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is always non-existent in Mysore. Doubtless, the Brahmins fancied that on account of the Miller Committee Report, Brahmins would lose some of their appointments, and that living would then be hard and inconvenience great; but it is not of that I wish to speak now. I do not now ask for a living for the Brahmins. That is quite a different question. My only point is, we must have efficiency in the public service. Public service is not a representative institution to which recruitment should be made on a communal basis. According to the *Sukra Niti* and according to the practice prevailing in all western countries, whoever is qualified will be entitled to serve under Government.

Whether a candidate for office is a Jew, Christian, Protestant or Jacobite, his qualification alone counts. In no country and at no time in the annals of the world, was Government service held to be a representative institution to be recruited on a communal basis. It is only in private life and on ceremonial occasions that the distinctions of caste or creed are observed.

My next point is—on what basis are communities classed 'backward' or 'forward'? Is it on the ground of inadequate representation in the public service, or on the ground of lack of education or of lack of wealth? When so many Non-Brahmin non-officials are well off in point of wealth, wisdom and learning, 'Backward' or 'Forward' is only a misnomer. A community is not backward merely because several members of it are not serving under Government. There are thousands of Coffee-Planters earning Rs. 10,000 a year or more. Are they to be styled 'Backward' because they are not in Government service?

Again, in the Committee's 'Terms of reference' I find expressed the view that with Government service comes a feeling of increased status. The time for such views is long since past. In olden days, the visit of an Amildar was hailed with as much joy as a Viceroy's visit would be at present, but now the Amildar or, for that matter, any officer of Government has come to be called a Public Servant. The idea that Government service confers increased status is therefore incorrect. Status does not come from Government service alone, but in other ways also. Doubtless the argument holds good when there is alien rule and we are debarred from or appearing for qualifying examinations such as the I.C.S., and when certain appointments are reserved for foreigners thus leading to racial inequality. In our State, all appointments are open to members of all classes provided they are qualified, and schools are open for all communities. There is therefore no racial inequality. Here we have a fair field to all and no favour.

The Committee have in their Report recommended that there being only a few Non-Brahmins in the higher appointments under Government, higher examinations such as the B.A., or Civil Service should be regarded as unnecessary and that lower qualifications should be enough in their case. But fixing definite qualifications for particular posts will give a blow to private initiative. The increased activities of Government and the growth of representative institutions demand increasing competence in our officers. Instead of insisting on higher qualifications, under such circumstance it is strange that

they recommend the qualifications being lowered. Even in rural parts where I live, I find it is by no means easy for officers at present to satisfy the rising aspirations of villagers. The difficulty will be more so in towns. The fact that a section of the people have so much intelligence is due entirely to private enterprise, as it is private enterprise that is responsible for the wealth of the Vaisyas. There has been no intrigue, no conspiracy, no favouritism and no coming from the back-door. We do not claim a monopoly of intelligence. But, what capital is to the Vaisya, intelligence is to the Brahmin; and he exerts himself whole heartedly for it and fasts in the acquisition of knowledge when others, it may be, are feasting. If private enterprise is given a blow, the country as a whole will suffer. Merely because coffee plantations, for instance, are many and profitable and held by a few men can Government take them away from those men and distribute them among those of other castes? The principle underlying the Miller Committee Report is a dangerous one. There is already a supplemental subject that 75% and not 50% only should be given to Non-Brahmin communities. Again, once efficiency is given up and qualifications are lowered, applications will come pouring in for appointments from members of all castes. How many of these can get appointments and which of these should have preference? Every community will then begin to question the proportion of appointments given to it and all this will lead to confusion and ultimately to disaster. If, on the other hand, officers of Government are well-qualified men, the whole population of the State will benefit. If a large number of Brahmins are in service, it is because from the beginning they got themselves educated for it and took up service on small salaries and then rose by regular gradations. Non-Brahmin candidates, on the other hand, who passed the Lower Secondary Examination do not find it profitable to accept appointments such as, Shekdars. Already some Non-Brahmin candidates in the Forest Department have resigned and taken to trade or industry. Brahmin candidates, on the other hand, do not know Smithy, Carpentry and other arts and hence stick to Government service even on low pay for want of an alternative. The practical result of the Committee's recommendations will be that in future, Non-Brahmin candidates will not be forthcoming for the lower appointments and Brahmins will have to take to other walks of life. To take an instance, in the Anglo-Vernacular School at Belur, one Brahmin teacher having resigned, three or four Non-Brahmin teachers were appointed in succession but all these have resigned. The school, of course, is going on but the vacancy exists withal.

In the Opening Address, it was indicated that the principle was recognised by Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, by Sir M. Visvesvaraya and so on. Well, with due regard to their ability and intelligence, I emphasize that whoever introduced this principle committed a mistake and a gross one too. And because a thing has been done in the past, we should not say it must be right and copy it.

Another point which I wish to refer to is that there is very great difference between Sir Sheshadri Iyer's days and the present time. In those days, Government service was regarded as the "Be all and end all" of life and as its salvation. But the present time is such that non-officials feel immensely gratified that they are non-officials. With the growth of representative institutions, there is increasing scope for non-officials' activities. The time is not far distant when those sitting in the gallery will be seated on the dais.

The Third Member of Council said at the Budget meeting of the Legislative Council that Hindu-Moslem unity was brought about by the grant to Moslems of separate representation in Councils. This is not so. We all know we owe this blessing to Mahatma Gandhi, though we do not approve of his other activities.

May I also invite the attention of the Assembly to the reply of the Secretary of State to the Non-Brahmin deputation, *viz.*, that they must first attain a higher standard of efficiency before aspiring for high posts under Government. In the British Empire itself, for India, there is a Jewish Viceroy and a Jewish Secretary of State, though England is mainly Christian. This is proof positive that it is qualification that matters and not caste.

In the Legislative Council, a certain member (Mr. Basavappa) once remarked that if one community preponderates in service, selfishness and vanity result and that it will begin to control all the other communities. I do not understand the psychology of this argument, when the Collectivism of old has already given place to Individualism. In the Assembly itself, one member differs from another, and even all Vokkaligars are not united, nor all Brahmins and so on.

I beg also to point out that one of the effects of the Report has been to take away patronage even from Deputy Commissioners and Heads of Departments.

It is urged that clerks need not possess high qualifications but it must not be forgotten that the second clerk in any office is often something of a minister to the first clerk and that the first clerk himself has sometimes to be of immense assistance to the officer. Many

a reference has to be put up by clerks, and their responsibility is great. The use of the terms Brahmins and Non-Brahmins has brought about discord. It is therefore necessary that the prevailing discontent should be removed in the interests of the welfare of the State, by Government being pleased to withdraw the Report and their orders thereon.

Mr. R. Gopalaswami Iyer began by pointing out how the term 'Backward Communities' originated at the first meeting of the Mysore Economic Conference held on the 29th July 1911, and was meant to include *Holeyas*, *Madigas*, *Halepaikas* and *Lambanis*, and how gradually the term while excluding Brahmins has unconsciously drifted to include all other communities. The fact that in God's creation, the Brahmins happen to be small in number has turned out to be a very great disadvantage to them. Among the other communities themselves, there is no intermarriage, no interdining, no fellow-feeling up to date and they have not sympathised and worked for the mutual improvement of one another. Government may themselves realize the state of affairs if every community questions the justice of giving only a certain number of appointments to it. Is it a mistake of theirs that the Brahmins are a low minority of population ?

Secondly, the term 'preponderence of the Brahmin community' is very frequently used. But has there been any hypnotism or machination or cheating or entry by the back-door ? Those who have studied Political Economy are aware of the law of supply and demand. There was the demand and we furnished the supply. The children of Shanbhogs went to places where there were schools and got educated. No one prevented students of other communities from doing likewise. If you take the census of town population, it will be seen that many Non-Brahmins are in towns but they have not taken to education though scholarships were always available to them. The fact that educational facilities are concentrated in towns is no valid argument. So are hospitals, courts and factories as well.

The order on the Miller Committee's Report lays down a time-limit of seven years. On what basis was this fixed ? Some say that this was because the Committee consisted of seven members. If there are enough number of Non-Brahmin students in the lower classes who are likely within the specified time to become graduates, then we can understand the time-limit. It will be seen that in 1920, 56 Vokkaligar boys passed in the English Lower Secondary Examination, 35 in the Kannada Lower Secondary, none in the Upper Secondary, 17 in the

S.S.L.C., 3 in the Entrance and none in the B.A. Similar will be the case if you consider the other backward communities. The Madras University was started 64 years ago, and the Mysore University four years ago, and out of 6 lakhs of Vokkaliga population, only 20 have passed in the B.A. Examination till now. This community, therefore, may be given any amount of educational facilities and there should be no objection to it: more would be unnecessary, and setting apart appointments for them would lead to invidious distinctions.

I beg to bring to the kind notice of Government one inconsistency. For reasons best known to Government, Indian Christians, Mudaliars and Pillays have been classed among forward classes. In military matters, Moslems and Ursu communities preponderate and this is not without reason. The other communities are afraid of horses and cannot ride and so they are not engaged in military occupations. And on this ground, can we legitimately complain?

The Dewan Sahib said both here and in the Legislative Council that Brahmins need not be afraid in regard to Government appointments on the ground that sufficient number of Non-Brahmin candidates may not be available and that the order refers only to initial appointments and not to promotions which depend entirely on capacity and efficiency. But when there is no scope for entry into service, who will be there to ask for promotions?

Dewan.—The existing Brahmin officials of Government.

Mr. Gopalaswami Iyer.—That means, sir, that there is no hope for fresh Brahmin entrants in future.

In his reply to the Addresses presented at the Dasara Session last year, the Dewan Saheb said:—"The incessant need for retrenchments in public expenditure and the rise in the scale of salaries will inevitably compel Government to restrict establishments and prescribe a higher standard of work in their employees than what they were satisfied within the past." In six months after that, that is, on 16th May, minimum educational qualifications were contemplated. That is all that I wanted to submit.

Dewan.—There is no connection between the two matters.

Mr. Gopalaswami Iyer.—I beg to submit, Sir, that I have not created anything. What the Dewan Sahib and Government have said I am referring to.

On the 7th March 1921, Rev. A. Moffat, M.A., moved a resolution in the Madras University—

"That Government be requested to appoint a committee of both University and Government nominees to

consider the relation between the University courses of study for the examinations, and the qualifications required for entering Government service."

The Madras Government have accordingly appointed a Committee to consider what qualifications are required for particular appointments. I request that a similar Committee be appointed to consider the relation between our University Degrees and the Mysore Government appointments, and it may be ordered that provided necessary qualifications are held, appointments might be given to members of any caste.

I also beg that two sentences that find a place in the report of the Committee should be deleted therefrom, *viz.*, that (1) "the fact cannot be ignored that an officer in the exercise of his duty of making appointments and promotions finds it easier to see the virtues of his own community than those of others," and (2) "it is necessary to have in all the secondary schools and indeed in all schools where the number of teachers is more than two, a fair proportion of teachers recruited from the backward classes so as to ensure for their pupils a sympathetic treatment." I only request that this principle be first applied to the two local private institutions managed by Non-Brahmin gentlemen, the Banumaiya's High School and the Marimallappa's High School, as an experiment. After this is done, the principle may be extended to Government institutions.

Communities other than the Brahmin have not availed themselves of the educational facilities afforded to all classes of His Highness' subjects, and therefore they cannot immediately take advantage of the orders on the Miller Committee's Report. The Brahmin candidates who have already completed their education or are completing it, are however suffering a hardship. So, till the other classes of people avail themselves of the opportunities afforded to them and we have gone to other avenues of life, time may graciously be given. One thing I beg to submit, Sir. Rightly or wrongly it is said we are intelligent and that whatever walk of life we enter—Trade, Commerce or Agriculture-we will get on. But we only need some facilities. Let Government not fix an arbitrary time-limit, but as qualified candidates become increasingly available, they may be preferred to Brahmin candidates. Meantime, graciously afford us facilities to prepare for other walks of life.

Mr. H. Krishna Sastry.—Everywhere it is recognised that providing employment to all classes of subjects is the duty of the State. But all the facilities afforded in western countries are not afforded in our State. If all classes of people take-up the same avocation, the country will not

prosper. Professions must be distributed among them And in all countries, people consist of three or four classes The first class take to Government service and the learned professions, the second are engaged in trade and industry, and in the lower grade of the service, the third in agriculture, and the last class will be unskilled workmen engaged in factories but sometimes also, depending upon others for livelihood. There is no opening for all of them in our State. Government must provide suitable facilities to as many of the avocations as possible. There is nothing very pleasant or enviable in Government service, and it is only those who have no scope for independent avocations that enter Government service. In the beginning, Kannada was the official language and Government service was open for all, but many did not take the opportunity. There were however some Non-Brahmins as Head Sheristedars or Revenue Sheristedars, etc., in the days of Sir Mark Cubbon. From 1868-69, however, English education began and with it difficulties; for, only those who had this education were considered fit for service, and others were not. Then, from the year 1878-79 the system of examinations began, and then parties came into being and there was contention between Mysoreans and Madrasees. Government, however, came to the rescue and increased educational facilities were given, and in the beginning, Brahmins took advantage of these and came out successful in the examinations more out of necessity, for, without examination certificates, no appointment could be got, and they had no other means of living. Other communities continued in their own line. The struggle now is between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins.

Government appointed a Committee to report on the question and the result has been that communal jealousy has been created. In 1914, the late Mr. Basavaiya brought up a proposition (No. 182) that there must be a revision of the policy of Government. Government promised consideration. The next day, another member urged that if this was contemplated in regard to Government appointments, then, it was essential that the opinion of the public should be taken. Therefore it was moved in 1915-16 that a Public Service Commission be appointed to which Government replied that it was not possible. Necessary qualifications for appointments under Government could have been decided upon then alone, and executive orders issued. But in 1918, a Committee was appointed and they were told that their report would be treated as strictly confidential. But how is it that copies are in the hands of members of the Assembly? If the Government Order alone had been published, considerable discussion could

have been avoided. Of course, the Government have not accepted all the recommendations of the Committee. But the layman cannot easily differentiate between the order and its annexure. There was, for example, a fear, however groundless, that Shanbhogi will no more be a hereditary office, and that all Brahmins will be sent out of office and so on, and this led to discontent. The order refers specially to Revenue and Police departments as departments in which qualifications may be lower, but these are the two most important branches of administration. Even in olden days ಅಷ್ಟಾವಧಿ and ಕಂದಾಚಾರ were regarded as such. And in regard to these two most important departments of Government, it is declared that a high standard of efficiency is unnecessary. If a high standard of efficiency is unnecessary for the two most important departments, then, do the other departments need it?

The Third Member of Council here invited the attention of the speaker to the fact that this was only the Committee's suggestion and that Government had declared that they cannot accept the somewhat arbitrary distinction made by the Committee among the several departments of Government in regard to the standard of qualifications required.

Mr. Krishna Sastry.—What the members want to submit is that the principle of percentage be taken up after efficiency has been attained. Whether 50 or 100 per cent is given would not at all elicit discussion. Anyhow, it is better that Non-Brahmin members want to taste the fruit of service, and Government may go on giving preference to every Non-Brahmin candidate who is qualified and desires employment. But Government should shoulder the duty of educating the Brahmins also. We had hopes that various activities and industries would be fostered by Government. But unfortunately, Brahmins find themselves excluded from service for 7 years. Added to this, are the retrenchments and amalgamation or abolition that are everywhere in sight. This has led to dejection and despair. It is therefore requested that all necessary productive works be taken on hand, that on proper security being furnished, suitable encouragement by way of scholarships, etc., be given to those who are willing to visit foreign countries, to increase their knowledge of trade or industry, and Brahmins will then gladly make room for others. This course also would avoid friction. Various important measures,-Infant Marriage Regulation, Life Insurance Rules Christian Disabilities Bill, etc., had been placed before the Assembly in the past, and we had discussed and then framed them. Similarly if the Miller Committee's Report

had also been placed before the Assembly and its views taken, there could have been no differnce of opinion at all, even if our suggestions had not been accepted. Our propositions were disallowed, we could not represent matters again, and meanwhile orders of Government were passed. This explains the position during the Birthday Session. It was due to misapprehension, and lack of knowledge and public discussion. We wish to sink our differences now. It is therefore right that the question must be finally settled just where it originated, and that you should do us, sir, the honour of bringing us together. Your position, sir, is not only that of the head of the administration, or of the President of the Assembly. You have a more stable position. If at a future time, we go and submit our grievances to you even then you can help us and rescue us. All other Dewans derived honour by being appointed to this office. You have brought honour to the office by appointment to it. Usually the Dewan has only two capacities whereas your capacities are threefold, *viz.*, that of the Dewan of the State, the President of this Assembly, and the first nobleman of our State and the Royal House. We do not blame anybody for the Miller Committee Report but cannot understand people referring to it for anything and everything. We have our own University, and it is intended to educate all our people and once they get educated they are certainly, all of them, Brahmins, and in this sense, I beg to point out, Non-Brahmin is a misnomer. It is education that has helped our Third Member of Council, and so many others to attain to high positions in life-gentlemen who are noted for their past record, their wisdom, their patriotism, their generosity. (Cheers.) Has the Miller Committee got them these positions in life ? No. Everything must come by God's favour and your support. Therefore, sir, we entreat you to forget all differences, if any, and heed not to either praise or blame, remembering that efficiency alone is what is required, without however imposing prohibitive standards. We only want that whenever fully qualified men from other communities are not available, we may be given the appointments. Of course we shall withdraw as they go on becoming available, and qualify for other fields even from now. As Mr. Gopalaswami Iyer already pointed out, an arbitrary time-limit like the one now imposed appears unnecessary. Of course, the merits and circumstances of each applicant will have to be considered before anything is decided. In view of these circumstances, we pray that Government may be pleased to reconsider this Order in order that all sections of His Highness' subjects may be satisfied.

Mr. N. Srinivasiengar read his speech on the Miller

Committee Report in Kannada an abstract of which is given below:—

"It is urged by the Brahmins that the Government Order on the Report operates to their disadvantage and should be cancelled; while the Non-Brahmins support it and pray that it may be brought into force. What the Order aims at is that the present proportion of the two communities in the public service—70 per cent of Brahmins and 30 per cent of Non-Brahmins—should be equalised in the course of seven years. As there are two parties into which the people of the State are classed, so also there are two kinds of profession, *viz.*, Government service and other occupations. For generations past, the Brahmins have taken to Government employment, and the Non-Brahmins to other modes of occupation. He who is employed in Government service is called Government servant, which term connotes slavery. It is rather strange that the best of all communities should have chosen the profession of a Government servant. Those who are engaged in other walks of life, have, on the contrary, been leading more independent lives. By restricting the proportion of Brahmins in the service from 70 to 50 per cent, 20 per cent of them will be released for pursuing independent avocations. In other words, these are compelled to substitute a cup of milk for a cup of water. By raising the proportion of Non-Brahmins in the service from 30 to 50 per cent. 20 per cent of these classes will be compelled to seek service under Government and thereby give the cup of milk to Brahmins, while taking from them the cup of water. The Government is like a mother who has two sons—one strong and the other weak—and looks after them according to time and circumstances. The Miller Committee Report is designed to elevate the Brahmins from their present position of slavery to one of independence and it is extremely unwise to dispute it. Is it not foolish on the part of the Brahmins to refuse to prefer a cup of milk to a cup of water? Is it the result of the education which the Non-Brahmins have received to give up the cup of milk in return for a cup of water? He is not a true Brahmin who does not respond to the call for undertaking independent occupations rendered vacant by the Non-Brahmins choosing to seek Government service in increasing numbers. Now, gentlemen, the Miller Committee Report seeks to divide Government service and other occupations equally between the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin subjects of the State. The Brahmins should pray Government for the same encouragement as is proposed to be shown to Non-Brahmins to enter service and it is up to the Government to sanction it."

Mr. K. Venkataswamaiya.—There are only a few points which I beg leave to submit. In the State there are so many religions and so many castes. May I ask if it would be possible to satisfy all of them? Secondly, Government are pleased to prescribe that 50 per cent of appointments should be given to Non-Brahmins. Will they remain satisfied with this percentage? Is it not giving scope for more being asked eventually? And whereas any profession has to be chosen according to the qualification and inclination of each individual, the Miller Committee's Report and the Government Order imply that backward classes will have to take up service under Government; and after all, this may not be conducive to the welfare of the Non-Brahmins. On what basis have communities been divided into backward and forward? The main result of such a division has been that two contending parties have been created. Have they been contemplated or necessitated by our *Dharmasastras*, or by the political theories of the present day, and is caste to be the standard for Government service? Should 50 per cent of appointments be given to backward communities, then they will have differences among themselves, and there will be complaints that one community preponderates over others and so on. Already such a state of affairs is perceptible. Lastly, Mr. Krishna Sastry has observed that the Order on the Committee's Report should be reconsidered so that all the communities in the State may be satisfied. I would only make two requests to all my friends here before closing: first that this distinction of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin be no longer allowed to exist; and secondly that since the Vigilance Committee contemplated in the order on the Report will only tend to decrease departmental discipline, this should be abolished. If these points are borne in mind and given due consideration, then discontent may disappear.

Mr. B. Usman Khan.—During the discussions that have so far taken place, three points have been raised and I shall confine my remarks only to them: first, that the period of seven years should be raised; secondly, that the question of raising the percentage in future must be taken into consideration, and thirdly, that the idea of formation of the Committee having first originated in the Assembly, the Report and the Government Order thereon should have been discussed at the Assembly. The subject was first mooted in the Assembly in 1914 and the motion also contained a proposal that the report which the Committee would send up, be considered and ordered upon by Government. Therefore, there appears to be no need for reconsideration. Some of the members said that the Newspaper Regulation, etc., were discussed here. I beg to point

out that there is a vast difference between passing regulations and passing orders on the report of a Committee constituted at the request of the Assembly. The welfare of the people is the concern of Government and they will do what is beneficial to the State as a whole. Another fear entertained by some of the members is, that if the percentage is first fixed at 50 in the case of Non-Brahmins, the Brahmins would lose 20 per cent of appointments. It is not so. Those who are in office will not be turned out. As vacancies arise by retirement and other causes, they will be filled by Non-Brahmins. The reasons for the time-limit being raised have not been sufficiently explained. And when even Courts of Law divide a property among the various children of a father, are not Non-Brahmins entitled to some consideration at the hands of Government and are they not subjects of His Highness the Maharaja? Do they not contribute a larger portion of the State revenue? Brahmins occupy a higher status in life, we acknowledge, but are not Non-Brahmins children of the State, and as such, should they not also be given some facilities? Why should, therefore, Brahmins grudge 50 per cent being ordered to be given to others and that in seven years instead of feeling glad that those who are not till now educated will hereafter get educated and prosper? Why should discontent be promoted through various articles in papers ? Can it be forgotten that Brahmins and Non-Brahmins are after all, brothers in the family of the State, and that the State itself is parent to both? And so, may we not request that the 50 per cent, contemplated in the order is very insufficient and that Government may be pleased to give us more ?

Mr. Purushottam Anandagiri Gosai.—Sir, in the discussions that have so far taken place, it has been observed that "backward communities' was an unmeaning term since there was no intermarriage or interdining among the communities. May I point out, that among Brahmins themselves, there are no less than 4,000 sub-divisions, one having nothing to do with another in the matter of intermarriage or interdining and not mixing with others in any matter? But why do they allow themselves to be classed under one head? Government have done so from the point of view of English education. When there are 2 lakhs of Brahmins in the State, there are 56 or 57 lakhs of the others and out of these 2 lakhs, about nine or ten thousand Brahmins hold appointments under Government against fourteen thousand in service as a whole. This works out to 70 per cent, and only 30 per cent are held by Non-Brahmins. And out of the three crores of revenue, one and a half crores are given to Brahmins as pay and yet opposition is great. In Mysore City alone, there are 10

to 15 thousand Brahmins and 15 or 16 thousand Mahommedans and if attention is directed to Lakshmipuram Extension, for instance, the large number of bungalows built by Brahmins will be visible, and this will be the case in all big towns. Those who are in Government service are well-to-do and build the best buildings. This happiness is sought to be denied to the others.

Another thing that must be noted is that the Order is calculated to afford equal opportunities. The Brahmins, it cannot be denied, are intelligent and if they direct their attention to industrial advancement, then the country will prosper and be able to compete with other commercial centres. And, forgetting this, they offer opposition to the order.

Lastly, I beg to submit that in the days of Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer too many Madrasees came here and took up service, mainly with a view to enjoying power. Mysoreans as a whole were against that policy. And now the Brahmins hold too many appointments under Government, and enjoy much power and are very well off. To bring about a re-adjustment is a duty of Government and an important one; and if that is to be done, giving effect to the order on the Miller Committee Report is the only way. Incidentally, it will have the advantage of directing the attention of the intelligent Brahmin towards trade and industry.

Mr. Subbaraya Chetty.—Government have, before passing orders on the Miller Committee's Report, considered all factors in detail and ascertained the qualifications required for work in the departments. The discontent that prevails is in a great measure due to the editors of papers and to a degree due also to selfish individuals who fear that their appointments will go. When Non-Brahmins seek service under Government the slavish nature of it is pointed out, and when they themselves work under Government the Brahmins forget the idea and they would be glad to be slaves of Government. Two or three previous speakers have made frequent references to efficiency. Well, Government are anxious that efficiency should be maintained, and they have done what is best for themselves and to the people and, in para 4 of the Order, have said :—

" Government consider it necessary in the public interest that an endeavour should be made to arrive at a definite standard of representation of the backward communities in the public service, provided qualified candidates are available. They are at present of opinion that the proportion of the members of backward communities in all headquarter and district offices of all departments should

be gradually raised to 50 per cent of the total strength (exclusive of those in inferior service) within seven years. Such an increase is obviously possible only if a sufficient number of candidates belonging to those communities and possessing the necessary qualifications become available."

But the Order does not contemplate including under this category those who ought not to be. It goes on to say :—

" Government consider, however, that the claims of candidates who are subjects of His Highness should have precedence irrespective of the community to which they belong, over candidates not subjects of Mysore. "

And after all only 3,000 out of the 10,000 appointments under Government held by Brahmins are affected. They must consider the small extent to which they are affected, if a few posts are given to Non-Brahmin. And the State is something like a body every limb of which must work harmoniously with others so that the whole body may be happy. And it is only when a definite percentage of appointments are reserved for Non-Brahmins that they will have a powerful incentive to education. Mere educational facilities cannot have the desired effect. Unmindful of these considerations, members go on urging that the Order must be modified without however saying how exactly this must be done. They frequently say that efficiency would suffer and so on. But in regard to qualifications required, Government themselves have said that " It is not easy to lay down a hard and fast rule in this respect. The work to be done in each department will have to be carefully reviewed and the qualification required for each fixed with reference to the needs and character of the work to be turned out, and with due regard to the declared policy of Government to encourage the recruitment of candidates belonging to the backward classes. " Government officers are the best authorities on the question of efficiency and according to standing orders and circulars they will select candidates for their offices or departments. Of course, as suggested by Mr. Gopalaswami Iyer, the University also may be consulted in the matter and we shall have no objection to it.

In this view the orders of Government on the Miller Committee Report are both beneficial and agreeable and very considerate to all communities and no reconsideration or modification is called for.

Mr. Gurappa Gowda.—We are thankful to Government for all the benefit they have conferred on us and for the large sums of money spent for our education. But when hundred years of education has done nothing more than what exists at present, it cannot be expected, in the

normal course of things, that the prescribed level of 50 % will be attained in seven years. I daresay this is the opinion of every member of this House. Such being the case the Brahmins have taken fright unnecessarily at the order and are labouring under a misconception. They are the most intelligent class and well deserve to become the pioneers of trade and commerce in the State. But apart from this, it is not very likely that 50% can be held by us, even in the course of seven years, education being such a difficult thing to acquire, and merely because Government have passed orders in the matter they need not be afraid. It is not right that they should think that Government have been partial to us ; they should, on the other hand, lend all possible support to the Government who have the welfare of all classes of the population so much at heart.

Mr. Venkataramana Sastry.—Already the subject has received much consideration and both sides of the case have been made sufficiently clear. Mysore has rightly been called the "Model State" and it is the duty of Government to see that it continues as such, instead of fresh parties being created under the names "backward" and "forward" communities which can only elicit ridicule from other States. At present we are all working hand in hand, such of us as prefer Government service taking it up and others continuing in other walks of life, mostly depending on land. But fresh difficulties have just been setting in and raiyats whose sons are compelled to attend schools are left to help themselves at home and on the land; the result is that agriculture as a whole suffers. But this is not my main contention. By all means educate them but only conduct the affairs of the State in such a manner that all classes of His Highness' subjects may prosper. The orders on the Miller Committee Report may be modified so that all may be satisfied. We are not against the education of our Non-Brahmin brethren. We want them to rise higher in education, wealth and influence. Only let all of us go forward and none be pulled back.

Mr. S. R. Balakrisna Rao next read in English, a memorandum signed by 45 of the Brahmin members of the Assembly and Mr. Belur Srinivasiengar translated it into Kannada for the information of the Assembly as a whole. The memorandum ran as follows :—

RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICE.

"1. The Government Order, as it now stands, provides for a Non-Brahmin, with the minimun qualification, being preferred to a Brahmin however superior his qualification may be, and is calculated to practically shut out

the Brahmins until the prescribed 50 per cent is reached. While we perfectly sympathise with the legitimate aspirations of the Non-Brahmins to secure a large representation in Government service, this result should not be brought about by the complete exclusion of the Brahmins for any particular period. We also beg to submit that the strict application of the Government Order would not only seriously affect the Brahmin community, but will also be highly prejudicial to the interests of the service, as it will result in all offices being manned by indifferent and mediocratic people who will not be fit to rise to higher responsible appointments in the State. It will, moreover, not be conducive to the best interests of the Non-Brahmins themselves, as it will take away all incentive for them to have recourse to higher education and to secure superior qualifications for themselves. We therefore beg to suggest the order may be modified so as to provide for perference being given to candidates belonging to backward communities, as between applicants of equal or similar qualifications.

2. The revision of minimum qualifications—which are already low—foreshadowed in the Miller Committee Order should not be given effect to until adequate opportunities for public representation and criticism are given. It is all important that in such revision efficiency of the public service should be the sole end in view. Lowering the standard would be detrimental to efficiency and economy.

3. The interest of those already in service should be adequately safeguarded both with reference to security of tenure and chances of betterment. There should be standing instruction to all the officers who have got the power of making appointments that in making initial appointments those in the lower rungs of the official ladder and of seniority even in acting service should not be prejudiced.

4. There should be no distinction between classes in the minimum qualifications required even in the matter of age.

5. The Recruitment Board has to be abolished for several reasons.

6. Merit Scholarships should be increased. The assurance conveyed by the command and in the name of His Highness the Maharaja to raise the allotment for scholarships to 3 lakhs, we consider, is a solemn and binding obligation. The Dewan's promise of additional Rs. 50,000 for scholarships *available to all* should be fulfilled.* A

* Two of the signatories subsequently wrote to say that by this they "meant the raising of the scholarship from two lakhs and odd to three lakhs of rupees."

percentage of scholarships to be earmarked for any particular community is highly objectionable.

7. Grants for High Schools and University Education should be maintained and augmented year after year.

8. Copy of the discussion in Bombay Council regarding the appointment to Non-Brahmins, published in the "Bombay Chronicle" dated 4th October 1921, is enclosed§ herewith for favour of kind perusal, from which it will be seen that the Bombay Government deprecate the earmarking of a certain percentage of appointments to any particular class or community, and that the mover and the amender were consequently asked to withdraw their resolution.

Mr. K. T. Seshaiya:—I am of opinion that Government is no place for representation at all; it is not a representative institution. As such, there should be no communal representation in it. This is my view. Thinking, however, that Government might not accept this, as an alternative, I have signed the Memorandum just presented. I would only repeat that the Order on the Miller Committee Report should be withdrawn, that a Committee should be appointed to take evidences in the various parts of the State, and that the orders of Government should be passed afterwards.

Mr. C. Subba Rao of Shimoga, explained the objects with which the Memorandum was prepared and said that it was not the opinion of members that the order on the Committee Report should be cancelled and so on. All that they wanted was, that in the light of observations contained in the Memorandum the order may be suitably amended. The principle of demand and supply and of employer and employee must apply as much to Government service as elsewhere. For the money we pay we always want the best available material; similarly for the salary that Government pay they have a right to appoint the best intellect available. Government is an elaborate machinery and also a permanent institution and it is therefore essential that efficiency should be maintained. No limitations, such as 50 per cent or seven years appear necessary; provided efficiency does not suffer, you may give cent per cent of appointments to candidates from backward communities. We say this advisedly, since a Non-Brahmin who, without any high qualifications, can get an appointment on about 15 or 20 rupees has absolutely no chance of rising high in office.

There is yet another thing. Suppose for the same appointment there are two candidates one with just the

§ Not printed.

required qualification, the other with better education and more experience. Why should not the latter get the appointment so that Government itself may benefit ? Subject to such a provision, you may allot any percentage to backward communities. In cases, however, when both the candidates are equally well qualified, of course, appoint the Non-Brahmin candidate. But lowering the minimum qualification itself is wrong in principle.

In the second place, educational facilities must be given to all alike. The one effect of backward class scholarships would be to retard education since members of backward communities may think that, apart from merit, they are sure to get scholarships. But this is not enough qualification and it is intelligence and hard work that are wanted. So merit scholarships should stand.

Thirdly, we beg to state that the Recruitment Board is unnecessary and may be done away with. Have we no confidence in Government and their officers and cannot Heads of Departments and Deputy Commissioners select the right sort of men for service? Are not quarterly statements of appointments submitted to Government? In the face of these facts, may I be permitted to say, sir, that the formation of the Recruitment Board would lead to jobbery ?

In the fourth place, we beg that the age limit contemplated in the Report should be cancelled. It is not just that for entry into service the Non-Brahmins should have time till 28 years of age and the Brahmin only up to 25. This distinction would not only be invidious, but would also lead to other inconveniences, such as, the retiring age also having to be raised in the case of the backward classes. Either the Non-Brahmin's retiring age will have to be raised or he will not be able to serve for 30 years before earning his pension.

In these circumstances and for various other reasons which are too well known to Government, we request Government to reconsider their order on the Miller Committee Report. We never intend saying that we must stick to service and others should not. We only want that the efficiency of the administration should not be impaired.

Mr. Thimmappaiya.—I am a shanbhog and day and night I deal with Non-Brahmins as much as with Brahmins and a shanbhog has no distinction of caste in his work. I only request, therefore that the Shanbhogi service should not be affected by the order on the Miller Committee Report.

Mr. E. Krishnappa.—I beg to submit that it was unnecessary that a Committee should be appointed, in regard

to this matter as Government themselves have acknowledged. Before the Miller Committee was appointed Government, in one of their replies before the Legislative Council (28th June 1918), have said :—

"For every one member of the backward communities that has had university education, there are five or six members of the forward communities..... I should like to see this proportion reversed. This is possible *without any set back to the forward community.*" I do not say that Brahmins must stick on to Government service. By doing so, they are labouring under too many disadvantages as Government themselves are aware. And once the Committee was formed, their report should have been published and public criticism invited, as in the case of the Education Memorandum; the order on it should have been passed after that. Government had about two years' time after the report was sent up to them and there was enough time for criticisms being invited. By refusing to do this, Government have withdrawn the right of representation from the people. We do not know if there is any use of our representing matters now. Had opinions been invited before orders were passed, we could at least, have imagined that there would be some use. Next, as the Third Member of Council himself has said in the Legislative Council: "in these democratic days there is no place for special favours or special treatment". Even from this point of view, the Miller Committee was unnecessary.

Under difficult circumstances, the Brahmins have acquired so much literary education which is only useful for Government service. If now, Government accept the recommendations of the Miller Committee, in whole or in part, have not the Brahmins a grievance? And if those now engaged in trade, commerce and industry divert their attention toward service, will not those professions suffer?

I also pray, sir, that in all Government records the terms "Brahmin" and "Non-Brahmin" should find no place. If necessary, they may be brought under specific communities. Some of the Non-Brahmins themselves feel aggrieved at having been grouped along with others.

The lowering of the standard of the Clerkship Examinations contemplated in the Government Order should not be given effect to.

In the year 1901 Sir P. N. Krishna Murty, in the course of his Address, said :—

"It is probable that literary education has drawn away too many of our young men from every important necessary walk of life. The most pressing of the reforms

in this matter, is to find out the methods of imparting education which shall be of more practical use not only to those who wish to begin as clerks in Government Service, or teachers in schools, but to all, according to their needs, who wish to engage themselves in the numerous professions and industries so necessary for the prosperity of the country."

Such being the case, the forward communities in our State, have not sufficient encouragement. Only recently, the Inspector-General of Education said that the Brahmins in schools were already too many and that should candidates from backward communities apply for seats in any class, these would be given to them even at the risk of the Brahmin boys going without seats.

Third Member of Council.—But seats have not been reserved.

Mr. Krishnappa.—No, but you must see that because others have to be provided seats, the Brahmins are allowed to suffer.

Also to encourage vocational and special education, loan scholarships should be given to Brahmins.

Among Brahmins themselves, there are too many subdivisions. Some of them deserve to be classed under 'backward classes', should this term continue to exist. Literacy among *Halekarnataka Havika* and *Sanketi* Brahmins is very low and they are least represented in Government service, not even 2 per cent.

Mr. Hinige Gowda.—Sir, the Miller Committee Report and Order have given a great impetus to the education of backward communities, and whereas before that our boys were not going to school even on compulsion, now they attend school with a great deal of enthusiasm. Everywhere there is a talk about the Miller Committee Report and everywhere there is hope and life. In former days and even so far back as Sir Sheshadri Iyer's days this principle was recognised but yet we were immersed in ignorance and did not think of how to get on. The fact that a Committee was formed to consider our case was itself sufficient encouragement to us and our hopes now are high. As a class we are not capable of doing service under Government and shall not come in any large numbers for service. But this will at least have the effect that our young men will become literates.

It is always safe that all communities should be represented in service so that the mistakes that an official of one community is likely to commit may be corrected or averted by that of another. As it is we are unable even to know the existing orders of Government.

To quote an instance, I had to get some money through the Civil Court, the Munsiff had ordered payment, and yet the Nazar would not pay me my money and it required the intercession of a lawyer for payment being made. It is for this reason that some of us also want to be in service.

The forward communities must not forget that they were also merged in ignorance once. And when some of them entered service the others thought that by getting educated they would also find employment. Similarly now we have hopes that just as the Brahmins have, by virtue of their education, got appointments, so also we can; and this hope should not be taken away from us. The order should in no way be revised or modified; but every year the proportion fixed now should be revised and enhanced.

Mr. Channappa.—In submitting a written resumé of representations, he said, "In the course of their discussion on the Miller Committee Report the Brahmin members of this Assembly have given expression to the view that they alone need serve under Government and that all others are well-to-do. They have opined that Government have erred in appointing a Committee and passing orders on their report recognising the principle of communal representation and offer opposition to the little help Government intend doing us. May I appeal to the Government, Sir, not to attach too much importance to their argument that the order should be reconsidered? It is true that education was always open to us and scholarships also available to some extent; but we could not avail ourselves of the facility and there were various reasons for it. And ever since Government have passed orders on the Committee's Report all the young men of our communities have begun to attend schools. Government, therefore, must do even more than they have promised in their order on the Miller Committee Report.

Some of the members said that Government have created differences. May I humbly submit that Government are not responsible for such differences but that the forward class alone was responsible saying, as they do, that they alone are fit for Government service, that each community must confine its activities to the time honoured customs and professions of their forefathers. If the father of a family does any injustice in the division of his property among the children, Government interfere and mete out justice to the aggrieved. When such is the case it is but right that they should give the necessary facilities to the backward classes. In this view they must reserve a proportionate number of seats for them,

the 50% contemplated now being quite inadequate. Otherwise there is no likelihood of our children getting educated at all. And unless all of us are equally educated and given equal opportunities of sharing in the administration of the State, there will be no progress, no wealth, no happiness. The ignorance in which the large number of Non-Brahmins are merged must first disappear; and when this demand is advanced by them the forward class must feel glad that the time for harmony has arrived. Government must therefore refuse to reconsider their order which has elicited so much unnecessary discussion. Our joy at the order is immense and our gratitude to Government for it knows no bounds. The order, therefore, must be a permanent one in order that our welfare in future may be ensured and any existing vacancies under Government must be ordered to be given to backward communities. The subject under discussion should also be disallowed."

Mr. Ramaswamiengar.—Sir, the other day one of the members (Mr. Abbas Khan) stated that as the Miller Committee itself was appointed in accordance with the Assembly's request further consideration of the subject was now unnecessary. I respectfully beg to differ from him. Whenever important subjects have to be decided upon, special committees are appointed, the committee reports are discussed in the Assemblies and then final orders are passed. Similarly, the Miller Committee Report also should have come here for discussion; and the fact that Government have passed orders without doing so is responsible for all this ill feeling.

Dewan.—Is there any order to the effect that subjects of this kind must be discussed in the Assembly?

Mr. Ramaswamiengar.—No, sir. But orders should have been passed after discussion here.

Dewan.—Have not many orders as important as the present one issued without being discussed by the Assembly?

Third Member of Council.—Did the Civil Service Rules come before the Assembly for discussion?

Mr. Ramaswamiengar.—I was not a member when the Civil Service Rules were introduced.

Mr. Vasudeva Rao.—That is the very reason why there was so much bitterness over the Civil Service Rules also. If the Order on the Miller Committee Report had been considered here, everything would have been smooth.

Mr. Ramaswamiengar.—And we are thankful for this subject being allowed to be discussed now at least.

What we must submit is that for service under Government, education, ability, and character should alone be considered. On what basis are people classed backward or forward? Is education the only criterion? If you take a census of the educated men in the State, it will be seen that a vast majority of them are too poor even to lead a decent living. They stand no comparison with men of independent professions, backward as they may be, in education. So, I beg to suggest that both education and wealth should be the criterion in classification of people as backward or forward. And educational facilities should not be confined only to backward communities but equal opportunities should be given to all alike. Government neither here or anywhere observed the principle of education or recruitment by caste in the past and should not in future. This differentiation, therefore, should altogether be done away with and the Miller Committee Order recalled.

Mr. D. S. Mallappa.—Our Brahmin brethren have pleaded for the complete cancellation of the Miller Committee Report and for its modification as an alternative. But we shall have to consider the effect that the Report and the Order have already exerted on the people as a whole. Not only are the backward communities now assured of appointments under Government, but their safety in future is secured. There will be no peace, should one community monopolise service. Disaffection there will always be under such an arrangement. My friends have also said that every community must adopt its ancestral occupation. Subordinates will then enjoy a false sense of safety, and feel that any mistake, however grave, will be condoned by the superior officials who belong to their own community. They plead that if Non-Brahmins are appointed, efficiency will suffer. They are mistaken in thinking that efficiency consists only in the possession of University degrees and certificates. Can it be forgotten that there have been many distinguished public servants in the past, even in our own country, who had no university degrees but whose ability, reputation and sympathy were beyond question? Dewan Rangacharlu, Mr. Doraswami Iyer, our honoured friend and colleague Mr. M. Venkatakrishnaiya, are only a few of the very many such great men of the past and the present. The test of efficiency is the contentment to the people as a whole. Brahmins have no monopoly of efficiency. Our Brahmin friends next say that Government service is not worth while as a means for decent living and acquisition of wealth. According to recent Government reports, it will be seen that the average earnings per head is Rs. 30. But in

Government service, the least pay given to any servant is 25 or 30 rupees as monthly salary.

They have also referred to the fact that in Military and other departments, Brahmins are insufficiently represented and still they do not ask for more appointments in those departments. But every one knows the various difficulties and risks which entry into the Military Department entails, while other departments afford an easy living. Why then should they ask for risky jobs?

Already, thirty per cent of appointments are held by Non-Brahmins and by the order, the limit is raised only by 20%. For this, why should they offer such stout resistance? Is not this jealousy very regrettable indeed? Should they not rather sympathise with us when we have just opened our eyes? Nobody can call the Government's action a mistake.

As stated in the Address, the principle underlying this order was enunciated during Sir M. Visvesvaraya's time and already our example has been copied by the Madras Government. When a similar subject was brought up before the Bombay Legislative Council, the Brahmin members there gladly co-operated with their brethren and the Government advised that Associations of backward communities should be established to facilitate the recommendation of qualified men from each community. Even here, we do not ask that even incompetent men must be appointed. We only ask that where candidates have qualifications sufficient for the particular posts sought for by them, they may be given such posts as there is no object in highly qualified men being appointd to lower appointments.

They said that there is no peace in the State on account of this Report. This is wrong. The vast majority of the subjects of the State are satisfied. There will be dissatisfaction and disaffection, perhaps, if this order which is intended to secure the welfare of 57 lakhs of His Highness' subjects is withdrawn. Government, therefore, should not give credence to the opinion of a minority of population.

Rather, sir, the 50 per cent. contemplated in the order is too low and must be enhanced. The order itself should be confirmed, and in no wise be modified.

Mr. Ananthaiya Chetty.—I beg to submit that no scope should be given for criticising the Miller Committee Report and the Government Order. The Committee consisted of both Brahmins and Non-Brahmins and was presided over by the Chief Judge of the Chief Court and after the Committee sent up their report, Government have considered all sides of the question and then passed orders.

And any criticism at this stage can only be regarded as criticism of the administration and of His Highness himself and it is inconsistent with the Assembly's code of Honour. It is regrettable also that several articles blaming Government have appeared. Next, what is the object in discussing the order now ? Merely because there is a chance of Non-Brahmins becoming educated, how will the administration itself deteriorate ? Can it be thought that Government will appoint all unfit men for service under them merely because these happen to be Non-Brahmins ? If anybody is found to be unfit for service, then, certainly he will not be appointed or if in service, he will be dismissed. If nevertheless, inefficiency really sets in, there is time enough to represent matters then. Further it is too well known, as pointed out by Mr. Mallappa, that unaccompanied by character, experience, etc., education will be of no avail and enough examples have been quoted to substantiate the statement. Because there are not among us persons who have passed high examinations, we cannot all be called unfit for service.

My Brahmin friends have said also that they have no objection to appointments being given to us but the order on the Miller Committee Report is, nevertheless, unnecessary. When the Government have power to make appointments even without the order, where is the harm in having such an order ? They plead for the abolition of the Recruitment Board. If that is done, how is the work given to it to go on ? The order itself has nothing new in it. The principle has been embodied in various orders from time to time. But all along, these rules and orders have not yielded sufficient results. The Central Recruitment Board is therefore quite necessary.

In these circumstances, sir, the order should not be cancelled or even modified but should be made a standing order for all time and the proportion revised every year.

Mr. Vijaya Deva.—Sir, on the subject of the Miller Committee Report, Mr. Subba Rao and my other Brahmin friends have spoken at length. The two most important of the points mentioned by all of them, are first, that the order prejudicially affects them and secondly, that the efficiency of the administration of the State will suffer. But they all seem to forget one or two very salient points in regard to Government in general. Consider why Government exists and what its aims should be. Government exists firstly in order to preserve peace and to see that every man is guaranteed the fruit of his labours. Next, it tries to bring together all its people and tries to advance the interests of the State as a whole. When these two functions have been discharged it should turn its attention

to humanity as a whole and attempt to create the greatest good possible. This is no new theory. These are the accepted maxims of political science. Considering now their first contention, we merely ask for certain facilities for ourselves and do not want that any injustice should be done to the Brahmins. We do not want them to be neglected, nor are the Government of that intention. The order is not prejudicial to them. We want 96 per cent of the appointments. But we have been promised only 50 per cent and the other 50 per cent is still open to them. Government have given them more than what they really needed. Not only have they been given enough education but they have been given too many appointments. Whatever may be the cause of this, we now ask if in the family of the State, such an arrangement is equitable ; we agree the Brahmins are the elder sons and we the younger. But we must get a proper share of the appointments and we are for the present, satisfied with much less than our legitimate share. So no injustice has been done to them and it is idle to say that they are affected by the Order.

In this country as elsewhere there is a very sharp distinction between rulers and the ruled, because of the barrier of caste. Such distinctions always give rise to claims for class representation. History is full of examples. Mr. K. T. Seshaiya said the other day that there was no instance of caste representation in the history of the world at any time. With due deference to him I beg to differ from him. May I ask Mr. Seshaiya if it was not class distinction and class hatred that was responsible for the fight between the Patricians and the Plebians in Rome? Did not a similar fight occur in the days of the Grecian civilization ? Did not, again, the same state of affairs prevail in England before the Magna Charta ? The State, in the discharge of its second duty, is bound to afford artificial means for the benefit of its backward people. The transition from *laisser faire* policy to tariff reform is an instance in point. If any industry is to develop, the State comes to its aid in its initial stages, though generally trade and manufacture are governed by competition. The same principle applies even when a backward community has to be elevated. These are accepted principles of modern civilization and we are deeply thankful to our Government for the very laudable move they have set about. Professor Geddes, in his 'The Problem of Political Evolution', (pp. 369 and 370) says "it is the bounden duty of the State to do all that is necessary to bring about an elevation of the backward classes, even at the risk of arresting the further progress of the already forward communities."

Coming to the question of efficiency, it is a mistake to think that University degrees alone make for efficiency. If I am a Ph. D., can I hope to become a very good Excise or Police Inspector? It is not this that is required for a Police Inspector, but courage, tact, vigilance, etc. The real meaning of the word efficiency has been lost sight of. Efficiency means, as Lord Curzon once said, the real contentment of the people. (Hear, hear.) If in my country there are too many graduates, too many engineers, and medical practitioners of the highest type, the country cannot *ipso facto* be called efficient. What must decide the question is the extent to which my country is benefitted by them and how far, on their account, are the citizens contented. That is the only pertinent question. Therefore, our Brahmin friends should remember that since this order is intended to give satisfaction and contentment to a vast majority of the people of the State, it is this alone that brings about efficiency. And when those that are discontented with it are a low minority why should the order be cancelled or modified? For, efficiency that gives no contentment is no efficiency at all. If I have a horse that is sound in all respects but bites me when I go near it in front and kicks me when I approach it from behind, of what use is it to me? In this view, sir, the order is quite in accordance with modern views and it is intended to further only what is after all a duty of the State. In your time, sir, and under the benevolent rule of our most beloved Maharaja, contentment of the masses should be the guiding principle, and we hope future administrators will also follow your example. We entreat you therefore, sir, not to be guided away by the Brahmins' arguments and commit yourself to reconsidering the very laudable orders which Government have been pleased to pass on the Miller Committee Report.

Mr. M. Subbaiya.—Sir, many members here have spoken about the Miller Committee and a good number of Brahmins have also signed and presented a memorandum to Government to-day. The one thing that every one of them referred to was that if Non-Brahmins are appointed, the efficiency of the service will be affected, thereby presuming that with a vast Brahmin majority in the service, there is efficiency everywhere. But if we take the Civil List, it will be seen that in the Secretariat, for instance, there are so many non-graduates working. And according to their own reasoning, can it be said that there is efficiency there? And if we look into the history of the last forty years, we see that so many non-graduates have been Assistant Commissioners. How then, has efficiency been maintained all these years? And is it rare that an officer of one

caste, when he comes to power, appoints men of his own caste whether qualified or not? Against all this, what we now ask is merely that if we are sufficiently qualified for the particular posts which we seek, we may be appointed. Otherwise, we do not ask for appointments, we do not beg for them. If we satisfy the qualification fixed, then we demand the posts must be given us.

For our backwardness in education itself, there have been good many reasons. Our parents saw how Brahmin literates were getting on in life and therefore thought that if we were educated we too could get on well. Some of us were educated accordingly. But what was the result? We were about 7 or 8 graduates and when we went to the authorities and asked for appointments, they offered us Rs. 20 and so on. Twenty rupees we could earn by having a cow. If we passed high examinations it was because we hoped for high appointments and when opportunity was not given to us, others did not care to qualify themselves. Otherwise, there would have been a good many graduates by now. Hence there was a break of twenty years, and hence the need for committees such as the Miller Committee so that all the people can take part in the administration of the State. The Committee's Report itself, and the order of Government thereon, cannot therefore be unsatisfactory to anybody, cannot be prejudicial to anybody. We do not ask for appointments without requisite qualifications. We only ask that where we have the necessary qualifications, we must be appointed. We do not ask that what has already been given to others should be withdrawn from them.

Mr. Ananthaiya.—The most important point that must be borne in mind is that so long as the educational policy of the State remains what it is, dissatisfaction will never cease. Mysore is an agricultural country and if equillibrium should be established, agricultural education is essential. If agricultural education is given, the people will never hanker after Government service.

Mr. Nanjappa.—Sir, not only in Mysore but all over India, a new spirit has arisen, a new life and an unbounded enthusiasm to share in the Government of the country. This spirit is responsible for the deputation of Non-Brahmins that waited on His Highness the Maharaja who, in his gracious reply, said that it was a legitimate and reasonable ambition. Favourable consideration of the prayer was promised and the Miller Committee was appointed as a consequence. The constitution itself was unquestionable and the Chief Judge of the Chief Court presided over it. Government have considered long over its report and then passed orders. And what, after all, is the order?

It is but an assurance to Non-Brahmins that if they get educated, they too can take part in the administration of the State. And this will not exclude all Brahmins from the service and they have no real grievance against the order at all. The idea that this would impair efficiency is a mistaken one. History tells us that where the whole administration is run by one and the same community, wrong doors are left scot-free. The order on the Miller Committee report affords a moral check over all employees. Some of the members opined that the Recruitment Board must be abolished. There is no reason why it should be abolished. My Brahmin friends should realise the principle on which the Recruitment Board is based. We shall have to refer them to the circumstances under which the Civil Service Nomination Rules came to be passed; we shall then have to refer to the circumstances that enabled unqualified men becoming Private Secretaries and ultimately Assistant Commissioners. Further, those who are now qualified did not so qualify in one day; they took a pretty long time and rose to high positions in office by regular gradations. Why, then, should similar chances be denied to the backward classes now? There should always be an admixture of different communities in Government service. Some one suggested that service under Government is slavish. I would answer him by saying that it is the duty of every citizen to serve the State, and that State service is a privilege and not a slavery. It must be observed, in this connection, that whoever thinks Government service to be slavery, can never discharge his duties satisfactorily and whoever takes a lively interest in it must certainly be preferred and encouraged.

Then again, our friends ask why we should not have qualified ourselves from the beginning. How could we, when all English Schools were situated in towns, whereas we were all obliged to live in rural parts? From the revenue derived from *us* were the schools started and maintained and *we* were denied the opportunities of making use of them. And yet an Education-Cess is to be levied on us! We have to conduct our hostels incurring the necessary expenditure ourselves. And while ostensibly acknowledging that education can never be the monopoly of any one class, they have all along denied us the benefits of Sanskrit education. In the face of all these facts, they blame us for not having qualified ourselves as they have done.

In view of these circumstances and also of the fact that the order is nothing more than an assurance to us, the order ought not to be cancelled or even modified as urged by some of the members.

Mr. G. Paramasivaiya.—The forward classes always blame us and say that we ourselves are responsible for backwardness and ignorance, having made no attempts at learning and showing self-improvement. But there are several causes for such a state of affairs. Once a man got in to an appointment, it passed on regularly from father to son and so on. The Shanbogi service is a relic of the system. And in addition to this, several restrictions in our way of acquiring education were imposed. The result was that Non-Brahmins came to be thought unfit for education, unfit for service. A few of the restrictions imposed on us were that anyone who repeated the *Vedas* would have his tongue cut off and anyone who heard them would have his ears removed. As Mr. Krishna Sastry pointed out, Kannada education was considered enough till the year 1869, and from 1870 English education was made a necessary qualification for service. As explained by so many previous speakers, we were all in villages and could not make use of the English Schools which were provided only in towns, in taluk headquarters, and in district headquarters. Whereas the Lower Secondary was considered sufficient qualification for service at first, this was raised to the Matriculation when the L. S. Classes were established in rural parts, and when people from these areas also got into the Matriculation classes, Government said nothing less than the F. A. would do and so on. It is thus that opportunities were denied to us from the beginning up to the present day. Even the East India Company, who introduced English education, have mentioned in their despatches that equal opportunities should be given to all alike so that whoever was capable might enter service. Government appointments have all along been recognised as the principal inducement for literary education. No one ever got educated, in fact, merely for the sake of knowledge. Were it so, why should there be so much trouble about the Miller Committee Report taking effect, and in fact, why should there have been such a Committee at all? They also tell us that no one was responsible for our not availing ourselves of the opportunities given to us and ask whether there were any prohibitive rules against us. Certainly there were no such rules, but practice throughout has been prohibitive enough. To give only one instance, a certain friend from a Non-Brahmin community, who had passed in the F. A. Examination, approached a Dewan for an appointment. He was asked about his qualifications and then given, by way of a test, a certain undecipherable file of Kannada papers. Naturally, the applicant could not read what was scribbled and this afforded sufficient cause for the applicant being turned out. The man had then to take up service on eight rupees and end his service

as a schoolmaster. Man, whoever he may be, has an instinctive attachment to his own community, and those who are above this are indeed superhuman. Such being the case, are Non-Brahmins responsible for not getting educated and not entering service till now? Our Maharajas had from the beginning Brahmin *Dharmadarsis* for the State, *i.e.*, ministers. These could have helped us all but never took pity on us. We do not blame them; we attribute it only to our misfortune. Whatever it may have been, we are, at present, concerned with the result.

The Brahmins also want the abolition of the Recruitment Board. Government have instituted it with the best of intentions and after mature consideration. Need we trouble ourselves about it? They also said that the effect of the Board would be to take away patronage from heads of departments and Deputy Commissioners. But the Recruitment Board is only concerned with initial appointments and once a man is appointed his future prospects entirely depend on his good work to be judged only by his offical superiors so that patronage has not been taken away from the officers.

The Brahmins went further and alleged that Government have created a party spirit and distinct classes, *viz.*, backward and forward. May I say, in reply, that in the Nanjaraja Bahadur Choultry, for instance, we see boards hung up 'Brahmins only' 'Non-Brahmins only' and that in the Subbrayanakere, there are two ponds, one intended only for Brahmins and the other only for Non-Brahmins? At every step, differences manifest themselves and we are blamed for being backward. In his address before this Assembly, Sir M. Visvesvaraya said:—

"ಭಾರಿ ಭಾರಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳು ನಿದಾನವಾಗಿಯೂ ಬಹು ದೀರ್ಘ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದಿಂದಲೂ, ನೆರವೇರತಕ್ಕವು ಎನ್ನುವದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯವೇ ಆಗಿದೆ. ನಾವು ಅನೇಕ ತೊಂದರೆಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ; ಆದರೆ, ಜನರು ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಧಾರಾಳವಾಗಿ ಸಹಾಯ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಕೇವಲ ಹರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಸ್ಸಂದೇಹವಾದ ಉತ್ಸಾಹವೂ ಉಪಕಾರಕ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವುದು, ಈಚೆಗೆ ಕಂಡುಬಂದ ಬಂದು ಅಂಶವಾಗಿದೆ. ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು 100 ಮೈಲಿಗಳ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬಂದು ಸರಹದ್ದು ಗ್ರಾಮಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳದ ಅಗಸ್ಟು ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಹೋದಾಗ ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮಸ್ಥರು ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಂತ ಖರ್ಚಿನಿಂದ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಬಂದು ಹುಡುಗಿಯರ ಸ್ಕೂಲನ್ನು ಬಹಳ ಉತ್ಸಾಹದಿಂದ ನಮಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದಲ್ಲದೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಗ್ರಾಮಕ್ಕೆ ನಿರ್ಬಂಧ ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಜಾರಿಗೆ ತರಬೇಕೆಂತಲೂ ಕೇಳಿಕೊಂಡರು. ನಾವು ವಾಪಸು ಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ, ರಸ್ತೆಯ ಪಕ್ಕದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಬಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಜನಗಳು ತಾವು ಸ್ವಂತ ಖರ್ಚಿನಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಸ್ಕೂಲ್‌ಕಟ್ಟಡವನ್ನು ನಮಗೆ ತೋರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮನ್ನು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿದರು. ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಕಡೆ ಬಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಯಜಮಾನನು

ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳ ಬಂದು ಗಂಟನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಮೋಟಾರು ಗಾಡಿಯೊಳಕ್ಕೆ ಹಾಕಿ ಅವರ ಗ್ರಾಮಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಸ್ಕೂಲ್ ಕಟ್ಟಡವನ್ನು ಕೂಡಲೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿಕೊಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಕೇಳಿಕೊಂಡನು. ಗ್ರಾಮಸ್ಥರು ತಮ್ಮ ರಸ್ತೆಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಭಾವಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ಕೆರೆಗಳನ್ನೂ, ದುರಸ್ತು ಮಾಡಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಧಾರಾಳವಾಗಿ ಖುದ್ದು ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದಲ್ಲದೆ ದ್ರವ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹೋದವರ್ಷ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ ಇಂಥಾ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳ ಬೆಲೆ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ 5 ಲಕ್ಷ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗೆ ಮೇಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಪದಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಕಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಉದ್ಯೋಗವಂತರು ಸಹಾಯಮಾಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಬಂದು ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾದ ಕಾಲದೊಳಗಾಗಿಯೇ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಜನಗಳು ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ ಮೈಸೂರು ಯೂನಿವರ್ಸಿಟಿಗೆ ಧರ್ಮಾರ್ಥ ರೂಪವಾಗಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಡಿಮೆ ಒಂದು ಲಕ್ಷ ರೂಪಾಯಿನವರೆಗೆ ಚಂದಾ ಹಣವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇಷ್ಟು ಧಾರಾಳವಾದ ಸಹಾಯವು ದೇಶಾಭಿಮಾನಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಬಹಳ ಹರ್ಷವನ್ನು ಉಂಟುಮಾಡತಕ್ಕ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿದೆ."

And when with so much enthusiasm we come forward, if they should offer resistance, it cannot but be regretted that the wisdom and foresight for which the Brahmins are always known, have done no more than creating in them a stronger desire for material progress than ever.

My friends also pointed out that there were no class distinctions at any time and in any country. Even in Western countries, there are among Christians, Roman Catholics and Protestants, and similarly even among the Brahmins, there are three main divisions. This was why differences sprang up among themselves consequent on the introduction of the Civil Service Rules. There was what might be called the Mysore Party *vs.* the Madras Party. Was not the exclusion of the Madras candidates the result of the selfishness of the Mysore Brahmins? And was such exclusion consistent with efficiency as advocated by them? Why were there any nominations to the Civil Service?

Some other speakers remarked that, when Under-Secretary to Lord Morley, Mr. E. S. Montagu, who is now the Secretary of State for India, was against communal representation in Government. This, I beg to point out, is a wrong impression. In his budget speech of 1911-12, Mr. Montagu has fully advocated equality of treatment, and his sympathy for the masses is well known. The late lamentated Mr. Gokhale too advocated the reform and thought that communal representation was very necessary in India. He was, at first, not convinced of the necessity, but as time went on, he realized that the path of political progress in India had to be wide enough and broad enough for every minority to be able to tread on it, not only the Mussalmans but also other minorities, such as the Lingayets, and that therefore they should receive special representation. His Highness the Agakhan has said that

onlythree days before Mr. Gokhale passed away, he wrote a minute on the subject. I appeal to my Brahmin colleagues here not to bring any objections but help the cause with all the force they can command and facilitate the smooth working of the benevolent order of His Highness the Maharaja's Government and thus earn the gratitude of their Non-Brahmin friends for all time to come.

On behalf of the backward communities, I would like to say a few more words. Backward communities are very anxious to educate their children provided they are given adequate facilities. I had requested Sir M. Visvesvaraya also in this respect, putting forward the anxiety of the backward communities to give their children education—both elementary and secondary. We have tried our best in this respect unaided. But our experience points to the emphatic conclusion that it is impossible for us to succeed in this huge task without the staunch support of Government. The Veerasaiva Community started the Lingayet Education Fund some 12 years ago, but the result has not been to our satisfaction. In all, we have not now more than about half a dozen graduates in our community, and unless the Government, with their officers come forward to support our cause, our advancement will be very small. The co-operation of Government is therefore very essential. Quite recently, Brahmins have established a Sangha called the Brahmana Vidya Sangha to which most of the high Brahmin officers of the State are members. Though the Veerasaiva Sangha was established some 12 years ago, yet we are not able to collect even 30 thousand rupees. Whereas the Brahmana Vidya Sangha have been able to collect more than 50 thousand rupees. This clearly shows that the co-operation of Government officers is quite necessary. The issue of the order on the Miller Committee Report is more or less a salvation to the backward communities as it affords effective inducement for education among the backward communities. Some Brahmin friends remarked that by giving full effect to the Miller Committee Report, the efficiency in the Administration would be greatly handicapped as Non-Brahmins with lower qualifications would be appointed to the various Government appointments. I fail to understand the logic of this argument. There have been competetive examinations held for the Civil Service, but all the same, nominations have also been made. When we look to the past history of the Mysore adminstration and its office bearers, we find that several high officers did not possess university degrees. But still, the efficiency of the administration was kept up at a very high level. There was none to complain of the administration, but on the other hand, other administrators have learnt very good

model lessons from this State. Some of my Brahmin friends said that appointments in the Education and Judicial Departments should be reserved to persons with exceptional merit and high academical qualifications. But I fail to understand why any such distinction should be made. For instance, Mr. T. Thumboo Chetty who had no university qualifications, was, for some time the Chief Judge of the Chief Court. Mere educational qualification affords no guarantee of efficiency in the Government service. A man should be intelligent, hard working, honest, conscientious and patriotic always putting forward the welfare of the country and of the people before his own mercenary ambitions. We have waited and waited and we have found everytime Brahmins saying "wait" and "wait". Now the time has come, and we cannot wait. We are thankful to the Government for issuing the order on the Miller Committee Report and we request that they should not on any account cancel or modify the concessions granted to the down trodden backward communities or in other words "Non-Brahmins".

Mr. Vema Reddy.—I am of opinion that there was absolutely no necessity to discuss the Miller Committee Report. The Government have passed orders on it and I am sure they are not going to withdraw or modify any of the concessions granted to the Non-Brahmins in the Order. I find that Brahmins have asked for eight things, such as, that the Government should revise the Order, that the Order should not be given effect to, that it should be revised in the light of the discussions in the Representative Assembly, that the Government should withdraw the Order, that a communique should be published in the paper with regard to the Government's revised proposals and that the concessions referred to in the Order to the Non-Brahmins should not come into force. The Brahmins have also given fifteen reasons why this Order should not be given effect to. But the reasons urged by them do not seem to be reasonable. The whole purport of the report is that the percentage of the appointments now being held by the Non-Brahmins should be raised from 30 to 50, a matter of only 20 per cent. Taking into consideration the population of the whole State, it is but right for us to ask for even 95 per cent. Formerly, the Brahmins were considered to be our Gods as they were the medium of imparting religious instruction. We were going to them at all times, and before we commenced any new undertakings, we used to take their blessings as generally every one does before one undertakes a new thing. But now on account of their selfishness and their unsympathetic attitude towards Non-Brahmins, they have

been shunned. The Non-Brahmins have not in any way been advanced, either in their social condition or in other respects by the Brahmins, and hence the Government were pleased to issue this Order. Non-Brahmins are not anxious to enter Government service wholesale, but we are thankful to the Government for issuing this Order, because it has enabled us to educate ourselves, it has encouraged education among the poor and backward communities and it has stimulated our feeling of self-respect and our ambition to climb higher in the daily walks of life. Finally, I pray that the concessions referred to in the Order should never be withdrawn or modified and the percentage of taking Non-Brahmins to Government service should be increased from 50 to 75.

Mr. S. Hampaiya.—Our Brahmin friends remarked that some inconvenience has been caused on account of issue of the order on the Miller Committee Report. I have no hesitation in saying that every one of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja has got the same privilege as any other community to attain to power and influence in His Highness' Government. A single community cannot hope to retain for ever that power and one day or the other they are sure to be displaced by an overwhelming majority of other members. In so many Government offices, there are clerks all belonging to same Brahmin community and every time a vacancy occurs, it will generally be given to a Brahmin though Non-Brahmins apply for it. Suppose there are ten appointments in a certain office and these appointments should be equally distributed to the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. By following this method, every one in the office would naturally do his work cautiously always fearing that if he happens to be slack in his work, somebody else in the office would show him up. This is a good method of bringing efficiency in an office. Our Brahmin friends contend that efficiency is their sole monopoly and there is no efficiency among the Non-Brahmins. I think they are utterly mistaken in this idea. I can quote a number of high officers, such as, Mr. Thumboo Chetty, Mr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty, Mr. Madiah, Mr. Muttanna and several others who have earned high respect and popularity from all classes of the people of the Mysore State by their sheer capacity and their high sense of duty. My friend, Mr. Gopalaswamy Iyer said that many Non-Brahmins are very rich and Brahmins are poor. But look at the houses the Non-Brahmins live in and compare them with the rich houses of the Brahmins in the extensions. The fact that so many Brahmins flock to big shops and jewel firms clearly shows that they are far richer than the Non-Brahmins.

The Local Self-Government scheme has given an opportunity to so many Non-Brahmins to get elected to the

minor and major Municipalities. Some of them have become Vice-Presidents, Councillors and Bench Magistrates and have won the appreciation of the people as well as the Government. They have even won medals for public service at the gracious hands of our beloved Sovereign, His Highness the Maharaja. All these clearly show that the Non-Brahmins too are capable of doing efficient work to the appreciation of the public as well as the Government if they have a chance. Most of the non-official Non-Brahmin gentlemen do not possess any university qualifications, yet they have discharged their various functions to the satisfaction of one and all without impairing the efficiency of the office. It is therefore not right to say that if unqualified Non-Brahmins are given Government appointments, efficiency would be at stake. The Miller Committee Report issued is a great boon to many Non-Brahmins who would rise to the occasion and do their work in an honourable way. It is the only means by which Non-Brahmins could improve in their social life, in their education and in their living. If Government, on hearing the criticisms and attacks of the Brahmins, are disposed to revoke or modify any of the proposals made therein, our fate would be very precarious. I, therefore, request that none of the concessions promised in the report should be modified.

One of my friends said that the Central Recruitment Board should be abolished. If this is done, then the orders on the Miller Committee Report might also be simultaneously withdrawn. The two things should go together. The Board is necessary to act as a check to find out how far the order is put into practice by the various departments. A certain friend said that there was no necessity at all to issue the order on the Miller Committee Report and that the object would have been served equally well if letters had been confidentially written to the Heads of departments, laying down clearly for their guidance the policy of Government in regard to the disposal of vacancies. But the present distribution of appointments and the fact that the Miller Committee was necessary themselves afford a clear indication of how far such confidential letters would have sufficed.

I am of opinion that this subject ought not to have come up for discussion and this has led to some undesirable and heated discussion. The concessions given in the Order are not adequate and I would strongly urge that the percentage of 50 should be raised to 75.

Mr. C. Narayana Setty.—The order on the Miller Committee report has issued under the authority of the Government. Now it is the duty of the people to see how best the intentions of the Government could be carried

out. The object of Government in issuing the order was to improve the social condition of the people thus eventually improving the country itself. It should be the aim of each one of us to strive for the progress of the country and with this spirit every one should do his own duty. The order on the Miller Committee Report encourages people to become educated and that is the only reason I can find for this order. Entering the Government service is left to people who are educated and are fit for that service.

Our aim in being educated is not to become merely Government servants, but to improve the country as a whole. The Mysore State is backward in many respects, in its economic production as well as education. If a large percentage of people are educated, it is sure to lead to the country's uplift. Industry and education are the two necessary factors for the progress of a country. The Government as well as the people should mutually co-operate in the uplift of the country and also subjects should loyally help the Government in all their undertakings, whether they be Brahmin or Non-Brahmin. There should be no difference of caste or creed and all should work harmoniously for the welfare of each one of us and finally for the good of the country.

The percentage of the existing Non-Brahmins in Government service is about 30 which figure is proposed to be raised to 50. It means an addition of 20 per cent. For this, the Brahmins are agitating very much. Considering the population of the Non-Brahmins, this percentage is very small and should be raised to 75 per cent. Our friends have also spoken something about efficiency. Efficiency does not mean university qualifications. I have no such qualifications, but I make a sporting offer that I shall run any office as satisfactory as any present incumbent, after I have had time for preliminary study and training. Efficiency lies in experience and honest work. Andrew Carnegie had no university qualification beyond knowing how to read and write. But he was one of the greatest millionaires. Though he was not a university man, yet he had common sense which is most essential. If a man has sufficient common sense, he is sure to bring efficiency wherever he goes or whatever work he does either in a private firm or in a Government office. After all, the Government can offer appointments only to about 20,000 people, but those who are endowed with common sense can get on anywhere and stimulate the progress of the country. The distinction 'Brahmin' and 'Non-Brahmin' has not been first done by the Government, or by any body else. It is the work of God.

The Miller Committee Report is sure to do a lot of good to the people as it will enable the backward classes

to take to education. There should not be any difference, such as Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, but one united body, working for the uplift of the backward classes and eventually for the good of the country. I do not advocate Government service nor do I ask my brethren to educate themselves solely for this purpose. The Miller Committee Report has done good to the backward communities, in that it has given an incentive to education and the concessions contained therein should neither be revoked nor modified.

Mr. Kalappa.—I am not very keen that every one should join the Government service, because, after all, it is not very attractive. A clerk in the Taluk Office is respected only in his own taluk, whereas a merchant is respected everywhere. People should educate themselves in various businesses and trades, as they will be far more comfortable if they become merchants than if they enter Government service. I have known that even after the issue of the order on the Miller Committee Report, there were many vacancies in Taluk Offices, and most of them were filled up by Brahmins. The concessions made in the Report are not sufficient and I would therefore request that the percentage of appointments of Non-Brahmins in Government service may be raised from 50 to 75.

Mr. V. Shamiengar.—The distinction, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, is prominent only in big towns and not in villages and taluks. Formerly, there were two divisions, *viz.*, Hindus and Mohamedans; but now it has been changed to Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Even granting that the full concessions referred to in the Miller Committee Report are given, it is very unlikely that those who are appointed in accordance with this Order would, in any way, be better than others.

The amelioration of Panchamas was first commenced by the Brahmins. Panchama conferences were organised by Brahmins and no Non-Brahmin volunteered to do this. But now they take the credit and speak on behalf of them. If we take a census of those who pay Income-tax, it will be found that few Brahmins pay Income-tax while several Non-Brahmins pay it, thus showing who are wealthy. Many of those who join Government service have become very poor. The idea of Government in issuing this Order is to educate as many people as possible and not for all to enter Government service. Without education, the progress of the country will be greatly retarded.

God never created castes, it is only the work of man. There are only four castes and the distinction, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, have come into prominence very

recently. This distinction should be eliminated and all classes should work harmoniously.

Mr. E. Krishnappa.—There was some talk during these two days about efficiency. It is not possible to prescribe any tests for efficiency. Efficiency lies in every one and he becomes efficient or inefficient according to the training he gets and the experience he gains. If the Government is able to ensure efficiency, I have no objection to the percentage of appointments to be given to Non-Brahmins being raised from 50 to 80. Non-Brahmins themselves admit that Brahmins have gone forward whereas they are still behind. I request Government not to drag us behind for no fault of ours. Facilities for education were open to any class of persons, but the fact is that the Non-Brahmins did not and would not avail of the opportunity. It is their own fault. My further request is that the Government should not either abolish or reduce scholarships or studentships. Now that the order on the Miller Committee Report is issued, I would request Government to consider the cases of those students who have just passed out from their colleges. It is generally the case that students prosecute their studies with an idea of joining Government service. While filling up vacancies in higher appointments, their cases may be considered.

Mr. Krishnamurthiachar.—We do not object to the appointment of Non-Brahmins. In order that administration may get on, it is very necessary to have efficiency in the services. So, provided Government insist on the possession of prescribed qualifications, they may appoint whom they please. It is quite unnecessary to import class hatred and jealousies into this question. The first thing in an administration is efficiency. We should give due prominence to it and see that persons appointed to the Government service discharge their duties in an efficient manner. One should possess ability to discharge his duties efficiently, and if a man has got that ability, he should be taken to the Government service. If qualified candidates are forthcoming among Non-Brahmins, I have not the slightest objection to their percentage being raised even to cent per cent.

Mr. D. S. Hanumantha Rao.—Differences between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins exist only in the towns and not in villages where all the people are working harmoniously. My prayer is that one party should not blame or condemn the other party. I have no objection to 75 per cent of the vacancies being conferred on Non-Brahmin candidates, and the remaining 25 per cent only being given to the Brahmins for which they would be quite satisfied. My only request is that there should not be any party feelings.

We shall never grudge Non-Brahmins coming forward but on the other hand we are only too glad to see them coming forward. In order to enable them to do so, I would suggest that 75 per cent of the vacancies may be given to them. By doing so, I am sure there will not be misunderstanding and eventually the distinction, Brahmin and Non-Brahmin, will be eliminated.

Mr. K. M. Krishnappa.—Representatives of really backward communities are not here. For instance, wild *kurubas*, *dhobies*, *koramas*, and *thoreyas*, these have no representatives here. These may be given scholarships freely and may be educated. After they are moderately educated, one of them may be appointed to the Recruitment Board to fight for their cause. The Government should not keep them at a distance and should not put them down on account of their ignorance and their low caste. These are also the subjects of His Highness and have a right to all the privileges the other people enjoy. Facilities should be given to them for education and in other directions, so that they may also compete for various Government appointments in course of time.

Mr. Sangana Basappa.—During the discussion of the last two days, Brahmins have represented that the Miller Committee Report will work great hardships to them if the full concessions are brought into effect. I think the Miller Committee Report has brought salvation after all to the Non-Brahmins. We have been patiently waiting all these years when Brahmins were enjoying various Government appointments and have never once grudged. But why should our Brahmin friends grudge when their Non-Brahmin friends have been given an opportunity. I am sure nothing good will come out from these discussions.

I believe that Brahmins themselves have brought about this distinction of Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. I consider the issue of the order on the Miller Committee Report will be of great good to the great mass of people, and to the country, as a whole. I therefore request that the concessions contained therein should not either be modified or withdrawn. If in the country, in each village there was brotherly affection among all classes, there would not have been all this ill-feeling over the order on the Miller Committee Report and in fact there would not have been any necessity to issue it. All the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja are equally privileged to benefit by the advantages conferred by his Government. There should, therefore, be equality in appointments and in every thing and I consider that there would be no misunderstanding if an equal number of appointments are given to both the classes without any distinction. By doing this,

every community will be equally represented and there will be an end to all kinds of clamouring.

I request therefore that the concessions contained in the order on the Miller Committee Report should not be modified or revoked.

Mr. Abbas Khan.—The Government have been pleased to issue the Order on the Miller Committee Report. The Order does not contain any special concessions to Mahomedans nor do I expect any special treatment for Mahomedans alone. This Order has been issued in order that all communities may be adequately represented in the Government service which is quite reasonable for every one of us to expect. But I am surprised to see that the Brahmin members have begun to oppose this scheme and they have done it to their very best. Take the population, for instance, into consideration. We find that the Brahmin community is only about 4 per cent and the rest are Non-Brahmins. Thus they form a very small minority. Although, their numbers are so small, yet the Government instead of giving them 4 per cent of the appointments, have given them 50 per cent and yet they do not seem to be satisfied. This complaint of theirs is unjustifiable. I request my Brahmin friends to consider over this and be reasonable. The aspirations of the Non-Brahmins are very moderate and fair, and no sane man will ever find fault with their aspirations. My Brahmin friends can easily realise that their contention is not sound and that the ambition of the Non-Brahmins is legitimate. Their protests against the legitimate aspirations of the Non-Brahmins even lead to doubts of their loyalty to the Maharaja. I am sure, the criticism of Brahmins will not weigh much in the eyes of other people who number more than 50 lakhs. The Brahmin members are fully aware that none of the concessions referred to in the Order on the Miller Committee Report can be cancelled or modified and I think it is no good to argue against this. We should not fight for individual rights and comforts, but should take a broad view of the situation and see that the people, at large, are properly educated, properly housed and are comfortably living. Some of our friends spoke about efficiency. I think, it would be better to wait for the verdict till an opportunity is given to us in Government service. The Miller Committee Report has been the means of granting appointments to Non-Brahmins. This was specially issued so that there might not be any injustice done to the Non-Brahmins. This is no new principle. Even during the British Commission in 1874, there was a rule made that appointments should be equally distributed among the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins. There was a rule that not more then 20 per

cent of the appointments in the Police Department should be given to Brahmins. I am sure, my Brahmin friends are fully aware of this. During the time of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao also, this system was being observed. Competitive examinations were held for the Civil Service, and Clerkship Examinations for clerks, and in each examination, there was not a single Non-Brahmin. In order to equalise the appointments between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, nominations were made. In the years 1914, 1915 and 1916, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was kind enough to see that the appointments held by Brahmins as Sheikdars and Amildars were quite disproportionate and appointed many Non-Brahmin members to these places. In 1917, the Central Mahomedan Association have openly thanked him for this concession in their address. I am sorry to see that our Brahmin friends have not pondered over these facts before they argued in this connection. Even in Madras and Bombay Presidencies, it has been decided to equally distribute the Government appointments between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. In some places, the percentage of appointments to Non-Brahmins is even 65. I think, it is not much use to criticise the action of Government, but on the other hand my Brahmin friends should give their hearty support to it and earn gratitude from the people. It is rather regrettable that in all the newspapers edited by Brahmin editors, there have been articles and remarks attacking the Non-Brahmins and the Order on the Miller Committee Report. I can say without any hesitation that these articles will not further the welfare of the people or the progress of the country. They are only sowing disunion and their articles create hatred and malice instead of peace and goodwill. Out of 56 lakhs of the population of the Mysore State, there are only 5,00,000 Brahmins and the Government have been good enough to give them 50 per cent of the appointments. It is sheer injustice and avarice to aspire for more appointments and I am of opinion that the Government have treated Brahmins very generously and considerately. I only hope that by their courteous behaviour towards their Non-Brahmin friends, the Brahmins will earn their respect and that all kinds of misunderstandings and hatred would disappear. I am, therefore, of opinion that the Order on the Miller Committee Report is fair and none of the concessions contained in the order should be modified.

Mr. S. A. Javaraiya.—Just now, a member said that Panchamas have been brought forward by Brahmins. I doubt very much how far this statement is true. For instance, in the villages, a Panchama will have to stop some yards away from a Brahmin. Recently, when a Panchama boy was admitted into a Government institution

in Sringeri, all the Brahmins refused to send their children to this school and opened a National School. Most of the lower appointments have been filled up by appointing Non-Brahmins and all the higher appointments have been filled up by Brahmins. In the schools, Government have been pleased to award backward scholarships to backward communities and the Brahmins have begun to attack this action of Government. They have till now brought us down and now it is our turn to pull them down. I am sure Brahmins will not be able to withstand the onslaught of the Non-Brahmins and it will surely happen, unless they co-operate with us. This struggle will be a sort of a history to our children and grand children. I, therefore, urge that the Government should take the initiative to bring the backward communities forward.

Vide.—Dewan's concluding remarks in Appendix G.

SUBJECT NO. 94.

Enhancement of sympathetic feelings between Hindus and Mahomedans.

Mr. L. Vema Reddi, Malur Municipality.

Mr. Vema Reddi.—The subject as appears in the Subjects Book is materially different from what I had sent up. I have, in the subject sent up, expressed a fear that ill-feelings may prevail and not there is 'a good deal of communal differences and ill-feeling between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities' as given here. I request that it may be properly recorded when proceedings are drafted. And the word "ದುರ್ಭಾವನೆ" used at present should be deleted.

My proposition is that books may be caused to be written in Urdu and Kannada languages and based on the sacred books of both the religions. I would suggest that books based on the *Quoran* and written in Kannada should be prescribed for Hindu school children and books dealing with Hindu manners and customs but written in Urdu, should be prescribed for Mahomedan boys and girls. This will bring about cordial relations between Hindus and Mahommedans from their childhood. And it will be clear to them that there is but one God who made them and that though in different ways, they have both one and the same goal.

Third Member of Council and Dewan.—The idea is good and the Education Board is trying to see how far this will be possible.

Mr. Karnick Krishnamurthi Rao.—With reference to the clerical errors pointed out by Mr. Vema Reddi, I beg to suggest that subjects may be ordered to be sent up to Government as proposed by us in original. What happens, is that what we send in Kannada is translated into English in the District Office, and after receiving this, Government again get it translated into Kannada and in this triple process, the whole thing has